APPROVED FOR RELEASE – DISAPPEARANCE OF AMELIA EARHART 2025 REVIEW

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ARTICLE 1

YELTSIN'S MOVE TOWARD A RUSSIAN ARMY: ACCEPTING REALITY

BY ALAN COOPERMAN

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

MOSCOW (AP) - PRESIDENT BORIS N. YELTSIN IS MERELY BOWING TO REALITY BY CREATING A RUSSIAN DEFENSE MINISTRY AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD A SEPARATE RUSSIAN ARMY, HIS ADVISERS AND INDEPENDENT DEFENSE EXPERTS SAY.

YELTSIN ANNOUNCED THE MOVE MONDAY, NAMING HIMSELF ACTING DEFENSE MINISTER.

THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN ALSO MOVED TO ES-ABLISH ITS OWN ARMED FORCES OM MONDAY WHEN ITS PRESIDENT, NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV, ORDERED CREATION OF A REPUBLICAN GUARD.

THE MOVES APPEARED TO SCUTTLE ANY CHANCE THT LEADERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES WILL BE ABLE TO PRESERVE A UNIFIED MILITARY AT THEIR SUMMIT MEETING FRIDAY IN KIEV, THE UKRAINIAN CAPITAL.

THE COMMONWEALTH STATES REMAIN COMMITTED TO JOINT CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BUT ALL 11 REPUBLICS NOW ARE LIKELY TO SET UP THEIR OWN CONVENTIONAL FORCES. UKRAINE, AZERBAIJAN, MOLDOVA AND BELARUS ALREADY HAVE STARTED TO DO SO.

"THE HUGE COMMONWEALTH ARMY WAS NOT REALISTIC. IT WAS HOPELESS," SAID ALEXANDER KONOVALOV, A DEFENSE SPECIALIST AT MOSCOW'S PRESTIGIOUS INSTITUTE OF THE USA AND CANADA.

"IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE AN ARMY THAT'S LOYAL TO A GROUP OF STATES. THE ARMY NEEDS TO KNOW WHICH STATE IT SERVES," HE SAID.

MORALE HAS PLUMMETED AMONG THE FORMER SOVIET UNION'S 3 MILLION TROOPS BECAUSE OF LOW PAY, A HOUSING SHORTAGE, HAZING OF RECRUITS AND THE DIVISION OF SOLDIERS' LOYALTIES BETWEEN THE COMMONWEALTH AND THEIR HOME REPUBLICS, ACCORDING TO KONOVALOV AND OTHER EXPERTS IN MOSCOW.

RUSSIA AND KAZAKHSTAN, THE TWO LARGEST FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS, HAD BEEN STRONG SUPPORTERS OF MAINTAINING A UNITED MILITARY. BUT THEY APPEAR TO HAVE DECIDED THAT THE BREAKUP OF CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES, SPEARHEADED BY UKRAINE, IS INEVITABLE.

YELTSIN'S DECREE HAD NO IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON THE COMMONWEALTH'S ARMED FORCES. VICE PREMIER SERGEI SHAKHRAI SAID THAT FOR THE TIME BEING, RUSSIAN SOLDIERS WOULD STAY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE COMMONWEALTH'S MILITARY COMMANDER.

BUT "THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WAS CREATED TO SUPERVISE AN ARMY. SO, OBVIOUSLY, RUSSIA WILL HAVE ITS OWN ARMY - IT'S ONLY A MATTER OF TIME NOW," SAID VITALY KOVALEVSKY, A STAFF MEMBER OF THE RUSSIAN STATE COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE ISSUES, WHICH ADVISES THE GOVERNMENT.

KOVALEVSKY SAID YELTSIN APPOINTED HIMSELF ACTING DEFENSE MINISTER BECAUSE OF A DISPUTE BETWEEN "THE HIGH COMMAND, WHICH WANTED A PROFESSIONAL WHO WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR STATUS AND PRIVILEGES," AND LAWMAKERS WHO BELIEVE THAT NAMING A CIVILIAN DEFENSE MINISTER "WOULD BE ANOTHER BIG STEP TOWARD DEMOCRACY."

KOVALEVSKY SAID THAT WHEN RUSSIA FORMALLY ESTABLISHES ITS OWN ARMY, IT WILL BE ARMED ONLY WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

HOWEVER, KOVALEVSKY SAID YELTSIN'S DECREE WAS PROMPTED, IN PART, BY UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT LEONID KRAVCHUK'S DECISION LAST WEEK TO STOP SENDING TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO RUSSIA FOR DISMANTLING.

YELTSIN HAD HESITATED TO CREATE A DEFENSE MINISTRY, SAYING EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT IF RUSSIA MOVED TO SET UP ITS OWN ARMY, ALL THE OTHER REPUBLICS WOULD, TOO.

"RUSSIA DID NOT WANT TO PROVOKE SEPARATIST TENDENCIES. BUT THAT POLICY DIDN'T WORK," KOVALEVSKY SAID.

"UKRAINE IS ACTIVELY BUILDING ITS FORCES. KRAVCHUK'S BEHAVIOR SHOWED THAT RUSSIA, AS A GREAT POUER, MUST CONDUCT AN ACTIVE MILITARY POLICY."

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 3

HARD-LINE LAWMAKERS SEEK RESTORATION OF SOVIET UNION

BY BRYAN BRUMLEY

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

MOSCOW (AP) - ABOUT TWO DOZE HARD-LINE LAWMAKERS FROM THE DEFUNCT SOVIET PARLIAMENT HEADED TODAY FOR A CITY SOUTH OF MOSCOW TO TRY TO HOLD A LEGISLATIVE SESSION IN DEFIANCE OF RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES.

THE DEPUTIES OF THE OLD CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES HAVE INDICATED THEY PLAN TO CHOOSE A NEW LEADER TO SEEK THE RESTORATION OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS DISSOLVED LAST YEAR FOLLOWING THE FALL OF COMMUNISM.

ALARMED BY THE MOVE, THE RUSSIAN LEGISLATURE ORDERED THE HARD-LINERS' GATHERING BANNED, FORCING THEM TO MOVE OUTSIDE CITY OUTSKIRTS. TODAY, RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES ALSO APPARENTLY TRIED TO PREVENT PARTICIPANTS FROM ATTENDING.

A TOTAL OF 12 BUSES HAD BEEN RESERVED TO TAKE DEPUTIES TO PODOLSK, ABOUT 20 MILES SOUTH OF THE CAPITAL, SAID COL. VIKTOR ALKSNIS, A FORMER DEPUTY AND AN OPPONENT OF THE REFORMS OF MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV.

BUT ONLY TWO BUSES ARRIVED AT THE MOSCOW HOTEL NEAR THE KREMLIN WHERE THE DEPUTIES HAD GATHERED FOR THE TRIP. THE REST WERE KEPT AWAY, SAID ALKSNIS.

ABOUT 100 SUPPORTERS CHANTING "SOVIET UNION" SAW OFF THE TWO BUSES, AND AND SOME 400 JOURNALISTS JUMPED INTO CARS TO FOLLOU THEM.

IT WAS NOT CLEAR IF OTHER DEPUTIES HAD ALSO PLANNED TO MEET AT THE HOTEL. IT ALSO WAS NOT CLEAR HOW MANY OF THE FORMER 2,250-MEMBER CONGRESS WOULD ATTEND THE MEETING, ALTHOUGH ORGANIZERS HAD SAID 1,470 LAWMAKERS HAD INDICATED THEY MIGHT GO.

THE PROSPECT OF AN ASSEMBLY OF HARD-LINERS, MANY OF WHOM SUPPORTED THE FAILED AUGUST ATTEMPT TO OUST GORBACHEV, HAS UNNERVED THE RUSSIAN LEGISLATURE. THE LEGISLATURE ORDERED MOSCOW MAYOR GAVRIIL POPOV AND CITY POLICE TO PREVENT THE FORMER DEPUTIES FROM GATHERING AS PLANNED IN THE CITY TODAY.

IN ADDITION, PROSECUTOR GENERAL VALENTIN STEPANKOV WARNED THAT CONGRESS ORGANIZERS COULD BE PROSECUTED.

A MAJOR DEMONSTRATION OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT BORIS N. YELTSIN ALSO WAS PLANNED FOR THIS EVENING IN MOSCOW. POPOV HAS AGREED TO ALLOW THE RALLY, ALTHOUGH AUTHORITIES SAID THEY WOULD DEPLOY THOUSANDS OF POLICE AND RUSSIAN INTERIOR MINISTRY TROOPS TO PREVENT ANY UNREST.

THE HUGE MANEZH SQUARE NEXT TO THE KREMLIN WAS CORDONED OFF BY POLICE EARLY TODAY AND DOZENS OF OFFICERS WERE SEEN AT THE VARIOUS ENTRANCES TO RED SQUARE.

DIEHARD COMMUNISTS FREQUENTLY ORGANIZE RALLIES OF SEVERAL THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN MOSCOW AND ELSEWHERE.

RECENTLY, THE PROTESTS HAVE BECOME MORE VISIBLE, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT APPEAR TO REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION.

IT ALSO WAS NOT KNOWN HOW MUCH POPULAR SUPPORT THERE IS FOR THE CONGRESS.

DEPUTY RUSSIAN PREMIER SERGEI SHAKHRAI WARNED MONDAY AGAINST UNDERESTIMATING THE HARD-LINERS.

"THE SO-CALLED CONGRESS IS AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE PARALLEL BODIES OF POWER IN RUSSIA," HE SAID, ACCORDING TO THE ITAR-TASS NEWS AGENCY.

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 4

INVESTIGATOR CLAIMS MYSTERY OF FAMED AVIATRIX IS SOLVED

BY PAUL RECER

AP SCIENCE WRITER

WASHINGTON (AP) - BITS OF METAL, A MEDICINE BOTTLE CAP AND PARTS OF A WOMAN'S SHOE PROVE THAT AMELIA EARHART LANDED ON A REMOTE PACIFIC ISLAND AND LATER DIED THERE, PROBABLY FROM THIRST, AN INVESTIGATOR CLAIMED MONDAY.

"WE HAVE RECOVERED ARTIFACTS THAT CONCLUSIVELY PROVE THIS CASE," SAID RICHARD GILLESPIE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP FOR HISTORIC AIRCRAFT RECOVERY. "THE FACTS ARE THERE. THE CASE IS SOLVED."

MS. EARHART AND HER NAVIGATOR, FRED NOONAN, DISAPPEARED IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC ON JULY 2, 1937, WHILE ON A FLIGHT FROM NEW GUINEA TO HOWLAND ISLAND. THEY WERE ON THE FINAL PORTION OF AN ATTEMPT TO FLY AROUND THE WORLD NEAR THE EQUATOR.

NEITHER THE FLIERS NOR THEIR LOCKHEED ELECTRA WERE FOUND IN AN AIR AND SEA SEARCH MOUNTED BY THE U.S. NAVY. LATER, REPORTS SURFACED THAT EARHART HAD BEEN CAPTURED BY THE JAPANESE AND DIED A PRISONER. THIS HAS NEVER BEEN PROVEN, HOWEVER, AND THE FATE OF EARHART HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF NUMEROUS BOOKS.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE MONDAY, GILLESPIE SAID HE HAS SOLVED THE 55-YEAR-OLD MYSTERY.

HE SAID HIS RESEARCH SHOWS THAT AFTER EARHART AND NOONAN FAILED

TO FIND HOWLAND ISLAND, THEY CAME UPON A SMALL ATOLL, THEN CALLED GARDNER ISLAND AND NOW CALLED NIKUMARORO, AND LANDED THERE ON A DRY TIDAL FLAT DURING LOW TIDE.

RADIO DISTRESS SIGNALS WERE HEARD FROM THE VICINITY OF THE ISLAND FOR THREE DAYS, BUT THEN STOPPED, GILLESPIE SAID.

HE ALSO SAID THAT A MASSIVE STORM NORTH OF NIKUMARORO GENERATED WAVES THAT WASHED THE ELECTRA FROM THE TIDAL FLAT AND DROPPED THE AIRPLANE OVER THE EDGE OF A CORAL REEF INTO 2,000 FEET OF WATER.

THIS IS WHY, HE SAID, THAT WHEN NAVY PLANES FLEW OVER THE ISLAND A FEW DAYS LATER THERE WAS NO SIGN OF THE ELECTRA.

NIKUMARORO, THEN UNHABITED, HAD NO FRESH WATER SUPPLY. GILLESPIE SAID HE BELIEVES EARHART AND NOONAN DEPENDED ON RAINWATER TO SURVIVE BUT THE LOCAL RAINFALL WAS ONLY ABOUT AN 10 INCHES A YEAR. THE PAIR PROBABLY DIED FROM THIRST, HE SAID.

GILLESPIE SAID HIS ORGANIZATION VISITED NIKUMARORO LAST OCTOBER AND DISCOVERED SEVERAL ARTIFACTS THEY HAD NOT FOUND IN A 1989 VISIT TO THE ISLAND.

HE SAID EXPERT ANALYSIS OF A PIECE OF AIRCRAFT ALUMINUM, A LENGTH OF COPPER WIRE, PARTS OF A WOMAN'S SIZE 9 SHOE, AND A BOTTLE CAP FROM A MEDICINE BOTTLE UNCOVERED NOTHING THAT WOULD DISPROVE HIS CONTENTION THAT EARHART AND NOONAN DIED ON NIKUMARORO.

"WE'RE VERY CONFIDENT THAT THE AMELIA EARHART CASE IS SOLVED," SAID GILLESPIE. THE ARTIFACTS, HE SAID, "FORM CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE IN SUCH AN OVERWHELMING WAY AS TO MAKE THEM CONCLUSIVE."

AMONG THE CLAIMS:

-A 23-BY-19-INCH PIECE OF AIRCRAFT ALUMINUM WAS FOUND WASHED UP ON THE ISLAND. GILLESPIE CLAIMED IT CAME FROM A UNDERSECTION THAT HAD BEEN REPAIRED AT THE LOCKHEED PLANT IN CALIFORNIA AFTER EARHART CRASH LANDED IN HAWAII MONTHS EARLIER. THE PIECE WAS EXAMINED FOR TIGHAR BY JOE EPPERSON, A NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD METALLURGIST, WHO SAID THE METAL "WAS CONSISTENT" WITH WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE REPAIRS MADE TO THE AIRCRAFT.

EPPERSON ALSO EXAMINED A PIECE OF COPPER ANTENNA WIRE ATTACHED TO THE METAL AND HE SAID IT MATCHED ANTENNA WIRE FROM THE SAME ERA.

-PARTS OF A SHOE SOLE FOUND ON THE ISLAND WERE IDENTIFIED AS FROM A WOMAN'S SIZE 9 BLUCHER-STYLE OXFORD BY OFFICIALS OF THE CAT'S PAW DIVISION OF THE BILTRITE CORP. IT WAS FROM THE LEFT SHOE AND INCLUDED A REPLACEMENT HEEL, SAID GILLESPIE. ENLARGEMENTS OF PHOTOS OF EARHART TAKEN DURING THE ATTEMPT TO FLY AROUND THE WORLD SHOW HER WEARING THIS TYPE OF SHOE, HE SAID, AND EVEN CONFIRM THAT SHE HAD HAD THE LEFT HEEL REPLACED.

-A METAL MEDICINE BOTTLE CAP WAS IDENTIFIED BY WARNER-LAMBERT CO. OFFICIALS AS A TYPE OF CAP USED FOR STOMACH MEDICINE IN 1937 BY THE WILLIAM R. WARNER CO. GILLESPIE SAID EARHART WAS KNOWN TO SUFFER FROM STOMACH PROBLEMS.

PETER WOLF, A WARNER-LAMBERT SPOKESMAN, SAID A COMPANY OFFICIAL WHO EXAMINED THE LID BRIEFLY SAID IT WAS OF A TYPE USED UNTIL THE 1950S. THE WILLIAM R. WARNER CO. LATER BECAME PART OF WARNER-LAMBERT. WOLF SAID PRINTING ON THE TOP OF THE LID WAS EASILY LEGIBLE.

"IT REALLY DIDN'T LOOK LIKE IT HAD BEEN WEATHERED FOR 50 YEARS," SAID WOLF.

GILLESPIE SAID HIS NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION HAS SPENT $750,000 ON TWO EXPEDITIONS TO NIKUMARORO IN SEARCH OF EARHART'S PLANE AND NO? PLAN TO RETURN.

DURING THE EARLIER TRIP, THE TIGHAR TEAM DISCOVERED AN ALUMINUM NAVIGATOR'S MAP CASE.

BOTH TRIPS WERE FINANCED BY DONATIONS AND LOANS. ASKED IF HE WAS SEEKING MORE DONATIONS TO MAKE A THIRD TRIP, GILLESPIE NOTED, "IT'S GOT TO COME FROM SOMEWHERE."

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 5

MORE BAD NEWS FOR LAWMAKERS ENSNARED IN CHECK-KITING SCANDAL

BY RON HUTCHESON-

C.1992 FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

WASHINGTON LAWMAKERS ENSNARED IN THE HOUSE CHECK-KITING SCANDAL RECEIVED MORE BAD NEWS MONDAY WITH THE DISCLOSURE THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS CONDUCTING A CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE MATTER.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORT OF THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION CAME AS LAWMAKERS STRUGGLED TO LIMIT POLITICAL DAMAGE FROM THE SCANDAL WITH SURVIVAL STRATEGIES RANGING FROM ABJECT APOLOGY TO ANGRY DEFIANCE.

"WE ARE REVIEWING ALLEGATIONS OF POSSIBLE CRIMINAL CONDUCT," MARK LIEDL, A SPOKESMAN FOR U.S. ATTORNEY JAY STEPHENS IN WASHINGTON, TOLD THE AP WITHOUT ELABORATING.

LIEDL SAID INVESTIGATORS BEGAN LOOKING FOR POSSIBLE CRIMINAL VIOLATIONS AT THE HOUSE BANK LAST FALL, WHEN A GOVERNMENT AUDIT DISCOVERED I8,331 OVERDRAFTS BY LAWMAKERS IN A 39-MONTH PERIOD.

FOR LAWMAKERS, THE REPORT WAS AN UNEXPECTED BLOW AFTER A ROUGH WEEKEND OF TRYING TO EXPLAIN THEIR BANKING PRACTICES TO VOTERS.

REP. CHARLES WILSON, ONE OF TWO TEXANS LISTED AMONG THE UORST ABUSERS, HOPED TO PLACATE VOTERS IN HIS EAST TEXAS DISTRICT BY OPENING HIS CHECKBOOK TO CHARITY. AT NEWS CONFERENCE IN LUFKIN, WILSON SAID HE PLANS TO FINE HIMSELF $25 FOR EACH OF HIS 81 OVERDRAFTS AT THE HOUSE BANK AND DONATE THE MONEY TO CHARITY.

ELAINE LANG, THE LUFKIN DEMOCRAT'S PRESS SECRETARY, SAID THE $25 FIGURE REPRESENTS THE STANDARD BAD CHECK CHARGE AT BANKS IN WILSON'S CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT. SHE SAID WILSON PLANS TO SPLIT THE MONEY ABOUT $2,025 BETWEEN THE HUMANE SOCIETY AND THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN TRINITY, HIS HOME CHURCH.

BUT THE TEXAS DEMOCRAT SAID HE DOES NOT FEEL ANY REMORSE OVER HIS CHECK-WRITING HABITS. WILSON SAID HIS OVERDRAFTS WERE NOT MORALLY WRONG BECAUSE HE DID NOT CHEAT ANY OF THE CHECK RECIPIENTS OUT OF ANY MONEY. THE PRIVATE HOUSE BANK ROUTINELY COVERED OVERDRAFTS FROM LAWMAKERS AND RECOVERED THE DIFFERENCE FROM FUTURE DEPOSITS.

"I NEVER GAVE IT A THOUGHT," WILSON SAID.

OTHER LAWMAKERS TOOK A MORE DEFIANT APPROACH. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, REP. WILLIAM CLAY, D-MO., TOLD HIS HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER THAT HE WAS "OUTRAGED" BY NEWS LEAKS ABOUT HIS BAD CHECKS. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, WHICH OBTAINED A PARTIAL LIST OF THE WORST BANK ABUSERS, REPORTED LAST WEEKEND THAT CLAY HAD 329 BAD CHECKS IN A 39-MONTH PERIOD ENDING LAST OCTOBER.

THE ST. LOUIS DEMOCRAT ACCUSED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE ETHICS COMMITTEE OF LEAKING THE INFORMATION.

"IT'S REALLY OBNOXIOUS THAT SOMEONE IN THE ETHICS COMMITTEE WOULD SHOW THIS LACK OF ETHICS," HE SAID.

THE PREMATURE RELEASE OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE LIST ADDED A NEW ELEMENT OF CONFUSION TO THE FINANCIAL TANGLE UNCOVERED IN THE NOW-CLOSED BANK. A STEADY STREAM OF CONGRESSIONAL AIDES TROOPED DOWN TO THE ETHICS COMMITTEE OFFICE IN THE CAPITOL BASEMENT MONDAY TO SEEK CLARIFICATION FOR LAWMAKERS LISTED AMONG THE WORST ABUSERS.

A SPOKESMAN FOR REP. RON COLEMAN, THE OTHER TEXAN ON THE LIST, SAID THE EL PASO DEMOCRAT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM REPORTS THAT HE HAD 673 OVERDRAFTS DURING THE 39-MONTH PERIOD INVESTIGATED BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE.

COLEMAN HAS ADMITTED WRITING FOUR OVERDRAFTS, BUT CONCEDES THAT THERE MAY BE MORE.

"HE JUST DOESN'T KNOW," SAID SPOKESMAN PETER ASHKENAZ. "HE HAS YET TO BE NOTIFIED."

THE FIRST TEST OF VOTER ANGER OVER THE SCANDAL COMES TODAY IN ILLINOIS, WHERE REP. CHARLES HAYES IS SEEKING RE-ELECTION IN THE STATE'S DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY DESPITE HIS RECORD OF 716 OVERDRAFTS.

THE INCUMBENT DEMOCRAT, WHO REPRESENTS THE SOUTH SIDE OF CHICAGO, FACES A STRONG CHALLENGE FROM ALDERMAN BOBBY RUSH, A FORMER LEADER OF THE ILLINOIS BLACK PANTHER PARTY WHO MODERATED HIS MORE RADICAL POSITIONS TO ENTER MAINSTREAM POLITICS.

REPUBLICAN LEADERS, MEANWHILE, ESCALATED THEIR EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT ANY POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN OTHER ELECTION CONTESTS.

"THIS IS A DEMOCRAT SCANDAL BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATS WERE CLEARLY IN CHARGE," REP. GUY VANDER JAGT OF MICHIGAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, SAID AT A CAPITOL NEWS CONFERENCE. "THOUGH THERE ARE REPUBLICANS SPRINKLED HERE AND THERE AMONG THE BIG ABUSERS, THE GREAT PREPONDERANCE OF BIG ABUSERS ARE DEMOCRATS."

IN AN APPEARANCE ON NBC'S "TODAY" SHOW, REP. NEWT GINGRICH, R-GA., ARGUED THAT THE SCANDAL IS MERELY THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENTS FOR DEMOCRATS THAT BEGAN WITH FORMER SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT'S RESIGNATION IN 1989.

GINGRICH, WRIGHT'S CHIEF ACCUSER, HAS SEIZED ON THE CHECK FLAP AS A POTENTIALLY POTENT WEAPON AGAINST HOUSE DEMOCRATS. BUT GINGRICH'S EFFECTIVENESS IS TARNISHED SOMEWHAT BY HIS OWN RECORD OF ABOUT 20 BAD CHECKS.

WRIGHT, WHO REPRESENTED FORT WORTH IN CONGRESS FOR 34 YEARS, ALSO SHOWED UP ON THE ASSOCIATED PRESS LIST WITH 139 CHECKS WORTH A TOTAL OF $37,000. THE FORMER SPEAKER, WHO QUESTIONED THE FIGURES LAST WEEKEND, HAD NOT OBTAINED ANY CLARIFICATION FROM THE ETHICS COMMITTEE AS OF MONDAY, AN AIDE SAID.

THE BIPARTISAN ETHICS PANEL IS SCHEDULED TO RELEASE INFORMATION ON THE 24 WORST ABUSERS AS EARLY AS NEXT MONDAY, FOLLOWED FIVE DAYS LATER BY INFORMATION ON THE REMAINING 331 CURRENT OR FORMER LAWMAKERS WHO HAD AT LEAST ONE OVERDRAFT.

THE PANEL'S PRELIMINARY REPORT ON ITS FIVE-MONTH INVESTIGATION CONCLUDED THAT THE HOUSE BANK HAD BEEN PLAGUED BY OVERDRAFTS SINCE AT LEAST THE EARLY 1950S. BUT A HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION COMPILED BY CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO COVERING CONGRESS, FOUND EVIDENCE OF OVERDRAFTS DATING TO 1832 ABOUT TWO YEARS AFTER THE BANK OPENED.

THE ARTICLE NOTED THAT THE BANK "OPERATED FOR 150 YEARS OUTSIDE THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES," ADDING, "TOO OFTEN, THERE WERE PLENTY OF CHECKS BUT NOT ENOUGH BALANCES."

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ARTICLE 6

ECONOMISTS NOW WONDER IF AND HOW LONG RECOVERY WILL LAST

BY DAVE SKIDMORE

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

WASHINGTON (AP) - BIT BY BIT, EVIDENCE IS BUILDING THAT THE ECONOMY HAS PULLED OUT OF ITS STALL AND STARTED GROWING AGAIN.

AN INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT IN FEBRUARY, A STRONG REBOUND IN RETAIL SALES AND OTHER POSITIVE SIGNS HAVE CONVINCED MOST ANA-YSTS THAT THE ECONOMY HAS FINALLY LEFT THE RECESSION BEHIND.

NOW THEY ARE WONDERING WHETHER THE RECOVERY WILL LAST AND

WHETHER IT WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO MAKE AN IMPACT ON THE LIVES OF MOST AMERICANS.

"FEBRUARY IS REALLY THE FIRST MONTH OF THE REVIVED RECOVERY, AS FAR AS I CAN SEE," SAID ECONOMIST ROBERT G. DEDERICK. "BUT THEN THE QUESTION IS ... IS IT GOING TO BE SUSTAINABLE AT A PACE THAT SATISFIES THE PUBLIC AND OFFICIALDOM?' IT'S TOO SOON TO TELL ON THAT."

ECONOMIST DAVID BERSON OF THE FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION SAID HE BELIEVES THE ECONOMY IS SHIFTING GEARS FROM NO GROWTH TO SLOW GROWTH.

"I THINK WE'RE GOING TO BE VERY VULNERABLE TO PAUSES. ... ANY SORT OF UNEXPECTED SHOCK IS MORE LIKELY TO SLOW THE ECONOMY OR MAKE IT GO NEGATIVE," HE SAID.

ANALYSTS WERE GETTING PLENTY OF NEW EVIDENCE TODAY WITH THREE GOVERNMENT REPORTS ON ACTIVITY IN FEBRUARY. THE FEDERAL RESERVE WAS REPORTING ON INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT ON NEW HOUSING CONSTRUCTION AND THE LABOR DEPARTMENT ON CONSUMER PRICES.

MOST ECONOMISTS EXPECTED A STRONG GAIN OF AROUND 0.7 PERCENT IN THE FED'S INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX, BOLSTERED IN PARTICULAR BY INCREASED OUTPUT ON AUTOMOBILE ASSEMBLY LINES.

IT WOULD BE THE FIRST INCREASE IN FOUR MONTHS AND FOLLOW A SHARP 0.9 PERCENT DROP IN JANUARY.

HOUSING STARTS, WHICH SHOT UP 5.5 PERCENT IN JANUARY, LIKELY DID NOT RISE AS STRONGLY IN FEBRUARY. MOST ANALYSTS LOOKED FOR A MODEST GAIN OF AROUND 1 PERCENT. A FEW EXPECTED A DECLINE BECAUSE HEAVY RAINS DEPRESSED BUILDING ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND TEXAS.

MEANWHILE, INFLATION SHOULD BE RELATIVELY WELL BEHAVED. ANALYSTS WERE EXPECTING A MODERATE 0.3 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX IN FEBRUARY. THAT'S IN LINE WITH AN ANNUAL INFLATION RATE FOR 1992 OF 3 PERCENT TO 3.5 PERCENT.

"BASICALLY, IT LOOKS AS IF WE'LL BE IN THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS, AT LEAST FOR A WHILE - A COMBINATION OF GROWTH AND INFLATION WELL IN CHECK," DEDERICK SAID.

IN THAT ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMISTS BELIEVE THE FEDERAL RESERVE WILL HOLD INTEREST RATES ABOUT WHERE THEY ARE NOW. FURTHER CUTS TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC GROWTH DO NOT APPEAR NECESSARY AND THERE SEEMS TO BE NO NEED TO DAMPEN INFLATION WITH HIGHER RATES.

ALSO TODAY, THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT WAS RELEASING ITS REPORT ON THE CURRENT ACCOUNT TRADE BALANCE FOR 1991. IT IS THE BROADEST MEASURE OF THE NATION'S TRADE AND INCLUDES INVESTMENT FLOWS AS WELL AS TRADE IN GOODS AND SERVICES.

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 7

ENVIRONMENTAL MEETINGS BOG DOWN OVER ISSUE OF RICH NORTH, POOR SOUTH

BY MARLISE SIMONS

C.1992 N.Y. TIMES NEWS SERVICE

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND AS THE NATIONS OF THE UORLD MAP A PLAN OF ACTION TO PRESERVE EARTH'S ENVIRONMENT, THEIR MEETINGS HAVE BEEN BOGGED DOWN BY THE OLD BATTLES BETWEEN THE WEALTHY, INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH, AND THE POOR, UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH.

THE DISPUTES ARE MIRRORED IN THICK STACKS OF PAPERS, 20,000 PAGES SENT IN BY 121 GOVERNMENTS, THAT ARE NOW BEING EXAMINED IN AN ELEGANT VILLA ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF GENEVA. THEY ARE LISTS OF THE WORLD'S GREEN WORRIES, EACH COUNTRY'S VIEW OF ITS MOST PRESSING ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS.

THE PAPERS FORM THE SUBSTANCE OF DISCUSSIONS HERE AND AT THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK IN PREPARATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, SCHEDULED FOR JUNE IN RIO DE JANEIRO, EXACTLY 20 YEARS AFTER AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE IN STOCKHOLM.

U.N. OFFICIALS SORTING THROUGH THE REPORTS HERE SAY THAT SINCE THE STOCKHOLM MEETING, GOVERNMENTS HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THINKING, ARGUING, AND ABSORBING THE NOTION THAT THE PLANET CANNOT COPE WITH INDEFINITE ABUSE.

BUT U.N. ORGANIZERS HERE HAVE EXPRESSED ANGUISH BECAUSE THE MEETINGS TO PREPARE FOR RIO HAVE REVIVED THE OLD CLASHES BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, THIS TIME IN AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT.

A U.N. OFFICIAL WHO HAS ATTENDED MOST PLANNING SESSIONS SAID MUCH OF THE DEBATE WAS CONFRONTATIONAL, CHARACTERIZING THE MESSAGE FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS "GIVE US MONEY; YOU ARE RICH; WE ARE POOR." THE OFFICIAL, A EUROPEAN, SAID THERE WAS NO DEBATE ABOUT WHAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD DO AT HOME.

"THE LANGUAGE EMPHASIZES MORE AND MORE THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER," SHE SAID.

AT THE PARIS-BASED ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, AN ORGANIZATION OF THE 24 INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS THAT ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING, SENIOR OFFICIALS SEEM AS GLOOMY.

"PEOPLE ARE DESPAIRING THAT THE RIO MEETING WILL BE DOMINATED BY A NORTH-SOUTH CONFRONTATION," SAID BILL LONG, DIRECTOR OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AT THE ORGANIZATION. "WE HOPED WE COULD FORGET ABOUT PLACING BLAME AND WORK ON PROBLEMS TOGETHER."

REPRESENTATIVES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MAKE LIGHT OF SUCH ACCUSATIONS, SAYING THEIR CONFRONTATIONAL POSTURES AND LANGUAGE ARE ONLY NEGOTIATING TACTICS TO GET MUCH NEEDED FUNDS.

"FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN A DECADE, THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE AN ISSUE WHERE THEY HAVE SOME REAL LEVERAGE," SAID AN OFFICIAL FROM A CARIBBEAN NATION. "THEY HAD NONE DURING THE DEBT NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THEY ARE PART OF THE ENVIRONMENT, SO THEY HAVE LEVERAGE NOW. AND THEY ARE USING IT. IT'S THEIR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY."

POORER NATIONS, HE SAID, SEE LEVERAGE BECAUSE THE NORTH, THE MAIN POLLUTER, WANTS THEM TO CUT EMISSIONS, STOP DEFORESTING, AND MAKE OTHER CHANGES. BUT TO ADAPT TO THOSE CHANGES, THEY ARGUE, THEY NEED FUNDING AND TECHNOLOGY.

THE REPORTS HERE ARE BEING USED TO DRAFT AN "EARTH CHARTER" FOR THE RIO SUMMIT MEETING ON MAKING DEVELOPMENT MORE COMPATIBLE WITH THE ENVIRONMENT. ORGANIZERS ALSO HOPE FOR A BINDING TREATY TO CUT EMISSIONS THAT CAN CAUSE CLIMATE CHANGE AND A SIMILAR TREATY ON THE PRESERVATION OF SPECIES.

SINCE MOST OF THE REPORTS HAVE BEEN PREPARED WITH THE HELP OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, THEY REFLECT HOW CONCERN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT HAS OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES GALVANIZED THOUSANDS OF CITIZENS' GROUPS AND MOBILIZED, SCIENTISTS, LAWYERS, ECONOMISTS, AND POLITICIANS WHO ARE PRESSING FOR CHANGE.

CONFRONTATION HAS BEEN PART OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE SUMMIT MEETING SINCE THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION IN 1989 CALLING FOR IT ATTRIBUTED THE PLANET'S ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS TO "UNSUSTAINABLE PRODUCTION PATTERNS" OF THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES.

AT FIRST, PLANNERS WANTED TO HOLD THE MEETING IN STOCKHOLM, AS IN 1972. BUT BRAZIL, STUNG BY INTENSE INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OVER THE LARGE-SCALE DESTRUCTION OF ITS AMAZON RAINFOREST, LOBBIED TO SERVE AS HOST THE MEETING AND WON ENOUGH BACKING.

BRAZIL'S PURPOSE, OFFICIALS SAID AT THE TIME, WAS TO IMPROVE ITS IMAGE. BRAZIL AND OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS ALSO SAID THAT HOLDING THE CONFERENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD WAS IMPORTANT SYMBOLICALLY AND WOULD HELP THEM PUT THE BLAME FOR MOST ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION AND POLLUTION BACK WHERE IT BELONGED, IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD. THE STRATEGY HAS PUT RICH COUNTRIES ON THE DEFENSIVE ON A HOST OF ISSUES.

A PLANNED TREATY TO PROTECT AND MANAGE THE WORLD'S TROPICAL FORESTS, WHICH ARE VITAL REGULATORS OF THE GLOBAL CLIMATE AND WHICH HARBOR MOST OF THE PLANET'S SPECIES, HAS ALREADY BEEN SHELVED. BRAZIL AND OTHER COUNTRIES DEMANDED THAT SUCH A TREATY BE EXTENDED TO ALL FORESTS AND HAD THE WORD "TROPICAL" REMOVED.

"BY EXTENDING THE DEBATE TO ALL FORESTS, THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH TIME FOR A BINDING TREATY," A UNITED NATIONS OFFICIAL SAID. "THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR IS A DECLARATION TO SAVE THE RAINFORESTS."

ANOTHER PLANNED HIGH POINT OF THE SUMMIT MEETING, A TREATY TO PROTECT THE WORLD'S ANIMAL AND PLANT SPECIES, IS BEING FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED. IN THE PAST, NATURE HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONSIDERED PART OF THE COMMON HERITAGE. BUT NOU DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WANT THE CONVENTION TO

STATE THAT BIOLOGICAL RESOURCES "ARE UNDER A COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY" AND ARE NO LONGER "TO BE CONSIDERED AS A COMMON HERITAGE OF HUMANKIND."

POOR COUNTRIES SAY THIS IS PART OF THEIR QUEST FOR EQUITY. THEY HAVE LONG COMPLAINED THAT THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS SUCH AS NATURAL GENES OR STRAINS BRED BY FARMERS IN THE FIELDS, HAVE BEEN REAPED BY FOREIGN RESEARCHERS OR PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES FOR FREE WHILE POOR NATIONS HAVE TO PAY FOR SEEDS OR OTHER ORGANISMS PROTECTED BY PATENTS AND LICENCES ELSEWHERE. THERE IS STILL BASIC DISAGREEMENT OVER HOW A COUNTRY CAN PROFIT FROM ITS BIOLOGICAL RESOURCES.

THE EMERGING RIVALRY FOR WESTERN FUNDS WHICH MANY AFRICANS AND LATIN AMERICANS SHOW TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE WAS ONE TOPIC OF DEBATE HERE THIS WEEK. WESTERNERS SAID THAT EVERY TIME A MEETING DOCUMENT MENTIONED THE NEED TO GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO EASTERN EUROPE, THE LARGE BLOC OF DEVELOPING NATIONS WANTED IT CROSSED OUT.

"THE SOUTH SEES EASTERN EUROPE AS A DRAIN ON WESTERN RESOURCES, THEY LOOK AT THEM AS COMPETITORS FOR WESTERN FUNDS," AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID. "BUT WE SEE EASTERN EUROPE AS A TEST CASE, A SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE QUICKLY THAT YOU CAN HAVE CLEANER ECONOMIC GROWTH. IF YOU CAN'T DO IT THERE, WHERE CAN YOU?"

ONE WAY TO DISSOLVE THE ACRIMONY, MARJAN VAN GIEZEN, A DUTCH OFFICIAL SAID, IS A PLEDGE FROM THE WEST TO KEEP SEPARATE BUDGETS AND NOT TO SEND EASTERN EUROPE ANY AID FUNDS EARMARKED FOR THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

U.N. OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH THE LOW PROFILE OF OIL-RICH ARAB STATES. SEVERAL HAVE NOT YET PROVIDED THEIR REPORTS, WHICH WERE DUE IN NOVEMBER. IN DECEMBER, WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS TRIED TO RAISE FUNDS FOR A PROGRAM TO REHABILITATE ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT WAS NOT RELATED TO THE PERSIAN GULF WAR, "NOT A SINGLE ARAB STATE OFFERED ONE PENNY," A SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID. SOME ARAB DELEGATES HAVE SAID THE ENVIRONMENT IS A TASK FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

AS THE SUMMIT MEETING NEARS, DELEGATES SAY THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IS IMPROVING SOMEWHAT IN SMALL WORK GROUPS. "BUT IN EVERY PLENARY SESSION, THE NORTH-SOUTH SMOKESCREEN IS STILL UP," MRS. VAN GIEZEN SAID.

RICH COUNTRIES STILL FEEL STRONGLY THAT POPULATION CONTROL DESERVES A MORE PROMINENT PLACE AND MORE COMMITMENT. THEY SEE POPULATION PROBLEMS AS AN ISSUE INEXTRICABLE FROM THE ENVIRONMENT. BY THE YEAR 2000, WHEN A BILLION MORE PEOPLE WILL HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE PLANET, THEY ARGUE, ALMOST EVERY ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM WILL BE MAGNIFIED.

BUT MANY POOR COUNTRIES SEE DEMANDS TO CURB POPULATION GROWTH AS AN INFRINGEMENT ON THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. AT FIRST THEY KEPT POPULATION OFF THE AGENDA AND MANY REMAIN RELUCTANT TO MAKE POPULATION GROWTH A KEY ISSUE. "POPULATION FINALLY CAME IN THROUGH THE BACK DOOR," SAID A FRENCH DELEGATE. IT WAS FINALLY PUT ON THE AGENDA, SHE SAID, "BUT IT'S STILL VERY SENSITIVE."

THE BIG QUESTION REMAINS WHAT TO DO ABOUT AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA OF SOME 800 PAGES, RANGING FROM HUMAN SETTLEMENTS TO THE CHEMISTRY OF THE UPPER ATMOSPHERE. ORGANIZERS SAY IT HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO DRAW THE LINE IN A SUMMIT MEETING CALLED CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

"THE ENVIRONMENT RUNS THROUGH EVERYTHING, THE INTERLINKAGE HAS GIVEN US GRAY HAIRS," SAID LARS HYTTINEN, A FINNISH ECONOMIST AND BIOLOGIST WHO COORDINATES THE COUNTRY REPORTS IN GENEVA.

MAURICE STRONG, A CANADIAN WHO IS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE RIO SUMMIT MEETING, HAS SAID THAT WHILE UNWIELDY, THE AGENDA SERVES TO PROJECT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEMS. MOST PROPOSALS FOR ACTION DEMAND ENORMOUS TRANSFERS OF MONEY AND TECHNOLOGY FROM THE INDUSTRIAL TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD THAT WOULD PUT ALMOST ALL RESPONSIBILITY ON THE RICH COUNTRIES.

THEY AGREE THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR MORE FUNDS BUT ARGUE THAT THEIR POORER PARTNERS MUST ALSO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO A NUMBER OF STEPS, LIKE LESS WASTEFUL USE OF RESOURCES, CUT BACKS IN MILITARY SPENDING, AND SLOWING DOWN POPULATION GROWTH. STRONG HAS PUT THE ENVIRONMENT-RELATED AID BILL AT $125 BILLION PER YEAR.

CAUTIOUS U.N. OFFICIALS SAY THAT EVEN IF THE SUMMIT MEETING FALLS SHORT OF ITS GOALS, THE GATHERING WILL HAVE BEEN WORTHWHILE AS A CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING EFFORT, PUSHING ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTIONS TO THE FOREFRONT AMONG THE PUBLIC, INTO THE PRESS, AND INTO EVERY GOVERNMENT MINISTRY.

EVEN THE PREPARATION OF THE NATIONAL REPORTS, HYTTINEN SAID, HAS ALREADY TRIGGERED INTENSE DISCUSSION WITHIN AND OUTSIDE GOVERNMENTS. SEVERAL ASIAN COUNTRIES, LIKE THE PHILIPPINES AND SRI LANKA, HE SAID, ASKED THE PUBLIC TO SEND IN SUGGESTIONS WHICH SET OFF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL DEBATES.

NEW ZEALAND ALSO CALLED ON CITIZENS' AND ACTIVIST GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE. "IT WAS A MOST INTERESTING EXERCISE," SAID A NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL. "WE NEVER KNEW ALL THOSE PEOPLE EXISTED."

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 8

FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

HOW CLINTON HAS BRIDGED THE RACIAL DIVIDE

BY WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON

CHICAGO - THREE YEARS AGO ON THIS PAGE I ARGUED THAT THE PROMOTION OF PROGRAMS TO UNITE, NOT DIVIDE, RACIAL MINORITIES AND WHITES WOULD STRENGTHEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S POSITION IN THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. BILL CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN PROVIDES AN INTERESTING TEST CASE FOR THIS STRATEGY. HE DREW A CLEAR MAJORITY OF LOWER-AND MIDDLE-INCOME WHITE AND HISPANIC VOTERS AND AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF BLACK VOTERS ACROSS THE SOUTH. RECENT OPINION POLLS INDICATE A SIMILAR PATTERN FOR TODAY'S ILLINOIS AND

MICHIGAN PRIMARIES.

MANY POINT TO THE MODEST SUCCESS OF JESSE JACKSON'S "RAINBOW COALITION" FOUR YEARS AGO TO ARGUE AGAINST THE IDEA THAT RACE CAN BE REMOVED AS AN OBSTACLE IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. BUT THE ARKANSAS GOVERNOR BUILT THIS BIRACIAL COALITION DURING A TIME OF INTENSE RACIAL TENSION IN THIS COUNTRY. THE MEDIA, MORE CONCERNED ABOUT HIS PERSONAL PAST THAN WITH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO GRASP THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT.

IF CLINTON IS ABLE TO HOLD THIS COALITION TOGETHER IN THE REMAINING PRIMARIES, HE WILL POSE A FAR MORE SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH THAN ANYONE THOUGHT POSSIBLE BEFORE THE CAMPAIGN. WHY HAS HE BEEN ABLE TO BRING TOGETHER ANTAGONISTIC RACIAL GROUPS EVEN IN LOUISIANA WHERE A MAJORITY OF WHITE VOTERS SUPPORTED DAVID DUKE IN LAST YEAR'S GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION?

I FIRST GOT A CLUE TO THE ANSWER WHILE WATCHING A TELEVISED SPEECH CLINTON GAVE IN A CHURCH IN HOUSTON THIS MONTH. HIS MESSAGE TO THE ALL-BLACK AUDIENCE COULD HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO A SOLELY WHITE ONE. IT INCLUDED TWO IMPORTANT ASPECTS: AN EXPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE RACIAL TENSION IN AMERICA AND THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP TO UNITE, NOT DIVIDE, THE RACES; AND A DISCUSSION OF PROGRAMS INTENDED FOR ALL LOW- TO MODERATE-INCOME GROUPS, NOT JUST MINORITIES.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT LEADERS CHANNEL THE FRUSTRATIONS OF CITIZENS IN POSITIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTIONS WHEN TIMES ARE HARD. BUT JUST THE OPPOSITE HAS BEEN MORE LIKELY TO OCCUR IN THE LAST FEW YEARS: THE NEGATIVE POPULIST APPEALS OF A DAVID DUKE AND THE BLACK SOLIDARITY ORATORY OF AN AL SHARPTON HAVE EXACERBATED RACIAL TENSIONS.

THE CLINTON MESSAGE HAS BEEN A SHARP CONTRAST FOR THOSE UHO HAVE GROWN WEARY OF DESTRUCTIVE RACIAL RHETORIC. IN HIS CAMPAIGN SPEECHES, HE ARGUES THAT DEMOGOGY FORCES US TO TURN ON EACH OTHER RACE AGAINST RACE INSTEAD OF ASSOCIATING OUR DECLINING REAL INCOMES, INCREASING JOB INSECURITY AND GROWING PESSIMISM WITH THE FAILED POLICIES OF THE UHITE HOUSE. HE POINTS OUT THAT PEOPLE WHO ARE EMPLOYED ARE WORKING MORE HOURS FOR LESS MONEY AND PEOPLE WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED ARE LOOKING HARDER FOR WORK WITH LESS SATISFACTORY RESULTS. AMERICANS ARE PAYING MORE FOR HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND TAXES WHILE SERVICES HAVE BEEN CUT. CLINTON'S SUCCESS IN THE PRIMARIES MAKES IT CLEAR THAT BOTH WHITES AND BLACKS OF LOW TO MODERATE INCOMES RELATE TO THIS APPROACH.

THEY ALSO RELATE TO HIS PROPOSED SOLUTIONS THAT INCLUDE JOB CREATION AND TRAINING, EDUCATION, SUPPORT FOR THE WORKING POOR, TAX RELIEF FOR LOWER- AND MIDDLE-INCOME GROUPS AND AFFORDABLE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL. OTHER CANDIDATES HAVE STRESSED THESE ISSUES AND HAVE PROPOSED SIMILAR SOLUTIONS. BUT ONLY CLINTON HAS INTEGRATED THEM INTO A VISION TO PROMOTE RACIAL UNITY.

CLINTON HAS DESTROYED THE MYTH THAT BLACKS WILL ONLY RESPOND IF A CANDIDATE HIGHLIGHTS RACE-SPECIFIC ISSUES AND PROGRAMS. AFR1CAN AMERICANS, DEVASTATED BY UNEMPLOYMENT AND CONCERNED ABOUT ADEQUATE HEALTH-CARE COVERAGE AND EDUCATION, HAVE REACTED FAVORABLY TO HIS

APPROACH. IT HAS ALLOWED BLACKS TO DISPLAY THEIR POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION AND SHOW THEIR WILLINGNESS TO IDENTIFY WITH A CANDIDATE WHO ADDRESSES THEM WITHOUT NARROWLY FOCUSING HIS MESSAGE ON RACE. LIKEWISE, CLINTON'S INTERACTION WITH BLACK VOTERS REFLECTS RESPECT FOR THEIR JUDGMENT AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE DEPTH AND BREADTH OF THEIR CONCERNS.

THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT HE DOES NOT BOAST ABOUT HIS OUN CIVIL RIGHTS RECORD AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN ARKANSAS INCLUDING REDUCING THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED BLACK YOUTH AND ADULTS BY 24 PERCENT BETWEEN 1983 AND 1991. BUT THIS IS NOT THE CORE OF HIS MESSAGE WHEN ADDRESSING BLACK AUDIENCES.#SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT RACE IS SO DIVISIVE IN AMERICA THAT WHITES, ESPECIALLY THE POOR AND WORKING CLASS, WILL NOT SUPPORT A CANDIDATE WHO RECEIVES OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF THE BLACKS WHO VOTE. BUT THIS FAILS TO CONSIDER WHAT DRAWS MINORITY SUPPORT. IF THE MESSAGE IS TAILORED TO A BLACK AUDIENCE, WHITES DRAW BACK, JUST AS BLACKS DRAW BACK WHEN THE WORDS ARE TAILORED TO A WHITE AUDIENCE. BUT IF THE MESSAGE EMPHASIZES ISSUES AND PROGRAMS THAT CONCERN THE FAMILIES OF ALL ACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS, WHITES WILL SEE THEIR MUTUAL INTERESTS AND JOIN IN A COALITION WITH MINORITIES TO ELECT A PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE.#THERE IS A GENERAL VIEW TODAY THAT THE DEMOCRATS WILL ONCE AGAIN SELF-DESTRUCT WITH A WEAK CANDIDATE IN NOVEMBER. THOSE WHO EXPRESS SUCH AN OPINION MAY BE IN FOR A SURPRISE. THEY MAY HAVE FAILED TO APPRECIATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CLINTON'S REMARKABLE BIRACIAL COALITION.

MARCH 17, 1992

ARTICLE 9

MORE BEAUTY, HOLD THE BEAST

BY BEN WATTENBERG

HAVE THEY NO SHAME? IT'S ACADEMY AWARD TIME. AND THOSE LICENTIOUS FOLKS IN HOLLYWOOD MAY CHOOSE AS BEST PICTURE A MOVIE THAT FEATURES VIOLENCE AND SEXUALITY, INCLUDING POTENTIAL CARNALITY BETWEEN A LOVELY YOUNG LADY IN BONDAGE AND A VICIOUS ANIMAL!

YES, THE FAVORITE IS "BEAUTY AND THE BEAST."

I HAVE BEEN SENSITIZED, HAVING JUST MODERATED A CONFERENCE ON "THE NEW GLOBAL POPULAR CULTURE," SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE (MY HOME BASE). SOME LEARNED SCHOLARS, CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS DENOUNCED THE UGLY STATE OF AMERICAN POP CULTURE. SOME PINED FOR THE DAYS WHEN THE MOVIE INDUSTRY WAS RIGIDLY SELF-CENSORED. (LUCKILY, OTHERS DISAGREED.)

THE ANTI-CASE IS THAT MOVIES ARE WORSE THAN EVER, REVELING IN OBSCENITY, NUDITY AND BRUTALITY, OFTEN WITH AN ANTI-AMERICAN, ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT, ANTI-RELIGIOUS SUBTEXT. TELEVISION, THEY SAY, IS JUST AS BAD. POPULAR MUSIC MAY BE WORSE BECAUSE IT CAN ALSO BE RACIST, MISOGYNIST, SATANIC AND DRUGGY. ALL THIS, IT IS SAID, IS MORE PERVASIVE THAN EVER. FROM VCR TO MTV TO BOOM BOX, OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING CORRUPTED.

IT IS A SERIOUS ISSUE. OUR CULTURAL SITUATION, BROADLY SEEN, MAY INDEED BE AT THE ROOT OF OUR PROBLEMS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC ONES. (JUST CONSIDER THE COSTS OF CRIME, DRUGS AND OUT-OF-WEDLOCK BIRTH.)

ARE WE CORRUPTING OUR YOUTH? IT IS USEFUL TO TRY TO MEASURE FIRST. LET'S LOOK AT THE MOVIES.

A.D. MURPHY, BOX OFFICE ANALYST FOR "VARIETY," CONFIRMS THE PERVASIVENESS. HE SAYS "MORE AMERICANS WATCH MORE MOVIES, MORE OFTEN, IN MORE WAYS, THAN EVER." WHEN TELEVISION ARRIVED, MOVIE ADMISSIONS FELL FROM $4 BILLION (1946) TO ABOUT A $1 BILLION (1961), WHERE IT HAS REMAINED. BUT AT-HOME MARKETS BOOSTED TOTAL VIEWERSHIP SKY-HIGH.

IF MOVIES ARE MORE PERVASIVE THAN EVER, SO WHAT? ARE THEY BAD STUFF?

THE DOZEN BIGGEST HITS RELEASED IN THE 1980S WERE "E.T.," "THE RETURN OF THE JEDI," "BATMAN," "THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK," "GHOSTBUSTERS," THREE "INDIANA JONES" MOVIES, "BEVERLY HILLS COP," "BACK TO THE FUTURE," "TOOTSIE" AND "RAIN MAN." THIS IS NOT EXACTLY YOUR RUN-OF-THE-MILL, DIRTY DOZEN OF PORNOGRAPHIC VIOLENCE.

SO TOO IN 1991. MURPHY CALCULATES THAT HALF OF ALL ADMISSIONS GO TO THE TOP 30 FILMS. LOOKING AT THE TOP 30 OFFERS A FLAVOR OF WHAT PEOPLE ARE SEEING.

"HOME ALONE" WAS IN FIRST PLACE. "TERMINATOR II" WAS SECOND. I LOVED ITS CAMPY, STYLIZED VIOLENCE; IT COULD HAVE STARRED DONALD DUCK RATHER THAN SCHWARZENEGGER.

OF THE REMAINING TOP 30 MOVIES, I SAW "DANCES WITH WOLVES" "CITY SLICKERS," "DOC HOLLYWOOD," "AWAKENINGS," "THELMA AND LOUISE," "HOOK" AND "BEAUTY AND THE BEAST." MY 7-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER SAW "TEENAGE MUTANT NINJA TURTLES."

I STILL HOPE TO SEE THESE, PROBABLY ON CASSETTE: "THE SILENCE OF THE LAMBS," "ROBIN HOOD," "SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY," "ADDAMS FAMILY" "BOYZ N THE HOOD."

AND SO ON. YES, THERE IS SOME VIOLENCE AND SOME SEX THERE; YES, THERE IS SOME POLITICAL SUBTEXT, RARELY CONSERVATIVE. BUT MOSTLY THESE ARE ENJOYABLE, WELL-MADE STORIES, JUST LIKE IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS.

MODERATE PROBLEMS DESERVE MODERATE REMEDIES. BEFORE LETTING WAR BREAK OUT BETWEEN FIRST AMENDMENT PURISTS AND PROHIBITIONISTS, SOME DISTINCTIONS OUGHT TO BE MADE. THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENTERTAINMENT, AND BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND SENSITIVITY.

MOVIES ARE SEEN IN PRIVATE THEATERS. THEIR PREVIEWS ARE RATED; RAUNCHY ONES ARE NOT SEEN WHEN FAMILY MOVIES ARE SHOWING. AGE LIMITS ARE IMPOSED. SO HANDS OFF THE MOVIES, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE NICE TO SEE MORE TRADITIONAL THEMES. RECORDED MUSIC IS PRIVATELY PURCHASED IN PRIVATE STORES. HANDS OFF, ALTHOUGH THE RECORD COMPANIES OUGHT TO VOLUNTARILY PUT RATING LABELS ON THEIR GROSSEST MATERIAL, SOME OF WHICH IS DISGUSTING. (REMEBER: BOYCOTTING AND PICKETING ARE ALSO

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.)

TELEVISION IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT; IT COMES INTO YOUR HOME OVER PUBLICLY FRANCHISED AIR WAVES. TELEVISION PROGRAMMERS SHOULD KEEP BLATANTLY SEXUAL PROMOS FOR LATER, ADULT SHOWS OFF THE AIR DURING KIDDIE-TIME PROGRAMMING. SIMILARLY, THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS IS ALSO PUBLIC: CUT THE BLASPHEMY, OR LOSE THE NEA.

PUBLIC PRESSURE AND MODERATE REFORM CAN YIELD A LITTLE MORE BEAUTY AND A LITTLE LESS BEAST.

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BEN WATTENBERG, A SENIOR FELLOW AT THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, IS AUTHOR OF "THE FIRST UNIVERSAL NATION," PUBLISHED BY THE FREE PRESS.

MARCH 17, 1992

NBA STANDINGS

ATLANTIC	W	L	PCT.	GB	L10	STRK	HOME	AWAY	CONF
NEW YORK	39	25	.609		5-5	L2	24-9	15-16	25-16
BOSTON	36	29	.554	3 1/2	6-4	WL	25-7	11-2	21-20
PHILADELPHIA	30	35	.462	9 1/2	4-6	L2	20-14	10-2	19-26
MIAMI	30	36	.455	10	3-7	L2	23-10	7-26	21-21
NEW JERSEY	29	35	.453	10	6-4	W2	19-11	10-24	19-21
WASHINGTON	22	44	.33	18	4-6	L2	11-23	11-21	12-28
ORLANDO	15	50	.231	24 1/	2-8	LL	10-24	5-26	11-32

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT.	GB	LIO	STRK	HOME	AWAY	CONF
CLEVELAND	43	20	.683	9 1/2	7-3	W5	25-5	18-15	31-9
DETROIT	40	26	.606	14	8-2	LL	20-12	20-14	24-19
ATLANTA	31	34	.477	22 1/2	3-7	W2	19-15	12-19	18-23
INDIANA	31	36	.463	23 1/2	6-4	WL	21-11	10-25	18-24
MILWAUKEE	28	35	.444	24 1/2	3-7	WL	23-11	5-24	19-24
CHARLOTTE	25	38	.397	27 1/2	7-3	WL	18-14	7-24	16-23

MIDWEST	W	L	PCT.	GB	LIO	STRK	HOME	AWAY	CONF.
UTAH	43	23	652	--	6-4	L2	28-3	15-20	27-13
SAN ANTONIO	40	25	.615	2 1/2	8-2	LL	26-6	14-19	27-16
HOUSTON	36	30	.545	7	7-3	W2	24-8	12-22	22-18
DENVER	21	43	.328	21	1-9	L2	16-16	5-27	11-27
DALLAS	17	48	.262	25 1/2	1.9	L9	12-21	5-27	11-27
MINNESOTA	11	52	.175	30 1/2	1-9	L8	7-25	4-27	8-30

PACIFIC	W	L	PCT.	GB	L10	STRK	HOME	AWAY	CONF.
PORTLAND	46	19	.708	--	8-2	LL	26-6	20-13	26-12
GOLDEN STATE	42	20	.677	2 1/2	5-5	LL	24-9	18-11	27-14
PHOENIX	42	24	.636	4 1/2	7-3	W3	27-4	15-20	25-15
SEATTLE	36	29	.554	10	6-4	W2	21-11	15-18	24-15
L.A	34	31	.523	12	7-3	W2	24-11	10-20	21-21
L.A. LAKERS	34	31	.523	12	4-6	LL	18-13	16-18	19-19
SACRAMENTO	20	45	.308	26	2-8	L8	16-17	4-28	9-29

Y-CLINCHED PLAYOFF BERTH.

L10: RECORD IN LAST 10 GAMES. END OF TEXT
----------TEAR LINE----------.

FILE: DECL OADR DRV >ORIG: AUTH:
INFO:
REL: CL BY

END OF MESSAGE SECRET

— **Source**
Originating System: